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342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered [272] guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [784] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

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MEDICINE PRACTICES. SHAMANISM

753 Among the Cayapa practically all illness is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits. In large measure
●[778] the particular spirits which cause illness reside in small, black, water-worn stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, in mammals, snakes, insects, and the like.

By the entering of one of these spirits into the body of an individual, and especially, as is usually the case, if one of the mentioned objects which is the special abode of this spirit enters also, a serious and often fatal illness results. This illness may take the form of any one of the numerous diseases common to the tropics.

There are various ways in which one of these spirits may enter the body. It may, for instance, enter directly into the body itself as the individual is passing the abode of the spirit, or it may enter the soul of the person which, while he sleeps, is traveling about the earth. In the latter case the spirit, on the return of the individual's soul, is taken into the body and the same symptoms and illness result as when it enters directly without the medium of the soul.

755 In almost every case a cure may be effected, provided a competent shaman is called in time. Each shaman has his own method of treatment, but in general these methods are similar and consist of (1) whistling and singing to call certain guardian spirits to the shaman's aid; (2) when these spirits have been summoned, the affected part of the body is sprayed with a decoction of rum and bejuco, and is massaged and rubbed with the hands or is sucked with the lips in order to draw through

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quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman, he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

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maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

A shaman's paraphernalia consists almost invariably of three classes of objects. First, one or more small lance-shape wands of black wood, each possessing special magic power from the spirit or spirits residing therein; second, a bottle of a decoction of rum and bejuco; third, a number of smooth black stones, potsherds, and similar objects of unusual forms. Especially valued are the ancient stone axes, either whole or fragmentary, which are found now and then about old village-sites and mounds or along the banks of streams. These objects, as before stated, are all supposed to be inhabited by spirits. One may be the abode of only a single spirit, while another may contain as many as ten or a dozen. One stone ax, for example, in possession of a shaman near Punta Venado, was said to contain five spirits. When an attempt was made to purchase this ax from him, he was greatly in doubt whether it would be wise and proper for him to part with it. To settle the matter he sprayed the stone with the decoction of bejuco and rum, and sang and whistled to it for a considerable time, meanwhile gazing at it intently. At last he pointed out the exact positions

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of the five spirits which the stone harbored, and explained how each was angry at him because he had even thought of disposing of the stone. He of course refused to sell it, stating that it would be of no use to the purchaser for the reason that if the spirits were not willing that it be sold they would return, together with the stone, on the following night, to the basket in which he kept it, and that the purchaser would lose the price paid for it, since it would be impossible for him ever to keep the stone, no matter in how strong a receptacle it might be put, because the spirits were able to take it at will wherever they liked. 756 778

While these stones and other objects used by shamans in their practices are so highly prized and so carefully handled by them, little care is taken to guard such objects from contact with other persons. Ordinarily they are kept in an open basket upon the floor and within the reach of uninitiated adults as well as of children. There seems to be no fear that the mere handling of these objects will cause any ill effect on the uninitiated—it is only when such a person attempts to use one of them for the purpose of doctoring that there is danger. 756

As above indicated, objects containing spirits may be bartered among the shamans whenever the spirits themselves are willing, and they are sometimes sold without consulting the spirits; but if it is a particularly valuable object and the abode of several spirits, these are always consulted before it is disposed of. 756 778 437

Although there are several shamans in the three divisions of the Cayapa, shamanism is comparatively little practised, and the position of a shaman in the tribe 756

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Inanimate objects, such as waterworn pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malába had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /únʸi/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /únʸ̈i/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /únʸi/. They left after a dispute with che /únʸi/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

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will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

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The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

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Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary

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area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /únʸi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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